1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

SD: Hilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

439 back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this loom, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the prettiest, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no chanpino to sell.

Chanpinos, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a chanpino, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [30 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for chanpinos, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the chanpino that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but these Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Pangipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more chanpinos. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

444 In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

426 Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on cows, land, or cattle—preferably on cows. In Alepúe area both land and cows were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of cows or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Occa-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

closely money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alapide man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching ñandú (rhea) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the ñandú with a bolas-thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 426

Alapide children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is supposed to earn money for his own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as benches when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

10 Bulgov E-8 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Accessions SC4
Argentina

either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, ikonos, rugs, and horns of goats used by Incas in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 50 pesos. (The exchange was 18 pesos for one U. S. dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to travelers, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families who received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chimpaihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and baggage. (Cf. pp. 370-373 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 73, *d*).

Snowshoes, known as chigan, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (mare), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigan were made by tying together the ends of a cabbage stalk to form an oval-shaped hoop and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigan was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampo. The trunk of the tree known as ruili was preferred in making wampo. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tapi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

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Mapuche
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A
and resettled Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautín Province C48
had been divided up into small *parcelas* and larger *fundos*. Govern-
ment agencies such as the *Caja de Colonización* and the *Ministerio de* C [64]
Tierras y Colonización, along with a number of private companies
and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautín
Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both
through intricate legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The C
result has been that the farmlands of Cautín Province are today [311]
carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parcelas* or *hijuelas* (small A
holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so [131]
that some are smaller than *parcelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many
of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms
through latifundismo.

Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved C
and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed 311
than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos*
where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization,
thus *fundos* are marginal land under cultivation in much the
same way *parcelas* and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections C
are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with [185]
little regard for the conservation of timberland.

The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parce-* C
lero or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total 241
cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted
mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain
being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops
such as lupine.

The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the
north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that
practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche.
But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared
to the *parcela* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or
combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger
fundos may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal
regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly
always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city, A
leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on C
the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed [464]
of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem-

II:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG-1

porary personnel from nearby reservations who work during the busy seasons for cash and who do not reside on the *fundo*. In addition, the labor complement may be increased seasonally by migratory laborers who travel through large parts of Chile, gearing their movements to the regional maturation of various crops.

Fundos have a great amount of self-sufficiency, producing a diversity of food crops and meat. However, they characteristically produce a surplus for the market, the sale of their products supporting both the owner and the administrator, besides providing cash for wage laborers.

Parcelas are small, usually owner-operated farms of less than 200 hectares. Although *parceleros* are often in fact subsistence farmers, their goal is to produce marketable surpluses. They have several large fields which are rotated in wheat, oats, barley, and, in many instances, potatoes, peas, beans, and other *chacrería*.[5] This is comparable to the operation of a *fundo*. Like the Mapuche, however, the parceleros are often in a dependent relationship to the *fundos*, sometimes working on them for wages and often renting their agricultural machinery. The *parceleros* are operators of family farms and generally do not employ hired labor. Like the Mapuche, they sometimes engage in cooperative labor (*minga*) with their neighbors during times of peak agricultural activity.

The agricultural production of Cautín Province is characterized by extensive cultivation of cereal crops and *chacrería*, and by cattle and sheep raising. The over-all contribution to the total national output is considerable, especially in wheat, peas, oats, and cattle.[6]

Production indexes, nevertheless, show that there has been no appreciable increase in output over the past twenty years (1930–50), even though more efficient farm machinery and more technical information have been made available. Improvements have been made in roads and transportation generally, and greater control over crop and animal diseases effected. Actually, if the averages for the first five years of the above-mentioned twenty-year period (1930-34) and the last five years (1946-50) are compared for wheat production, it is

[5] *Chacrería* includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops.

[6] Much of the following information was obtained with the kind assistance of the Provincial Agronomist, Señor Enrique Riveros, and through the cooperation of *fundo* owners and *parceleros* in Cautín Province. Statistical data come from government publications, especially *Memoria annual del servicio provincial de Cautín*, Santiago, 1951.

II:Farm E-3 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

U:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)961 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, usually of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*machis*, *misios*, or *kusches*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community—a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

D:Farm E-3 (1912-1914)1941 BC4 Araucanians BC4
Mapuche

only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural district surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside whenever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyor belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land.

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*ülmen*) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in prereservation and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that *ülmen* and persons designated as *lonko* or *cacique* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (potential leader of unrelated lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
622 we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
476 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
464 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *cacicuillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often